

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USBERL 00820 01 OF 02 231417Z

41

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

----- 074126

O R 231333Z APR 76

FM USMISSION USBERLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2340

INFO AMEMBASSY VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USBERLIN 0820

EXDIS

VIENNA FOR AMBASSADOR AND MEEHAN ONLY

E O 11652: XGDS-3, 4

TAGS: CASC, UR, US (SHADRIN, NICHOLAS GEORGE)

SUBJ: SHADRIN CASE

REF: STATE 096626

1. FOLLOWING MESSAGE IS FROM MEEHAN.

2. COPAKEN-VOGEL MEETING TOOK PLACE AS SCHEDULED AFTERNOON APRIL 22, SVINGEL ACTING AS INTERPRETER. MEETING LASTED FROM 1400 TILL 1830. I JOINED IT AT VOGEL'S AND COPAKEN'S SUGGESTION AT 1645. NO RUFFLED FEATHERS RE MY PARTICIPATION. HAD LONG, FRIENDLY DISCUSSIONS ALONG WITH COPAKEN BEFORE AND AFTER MEETING WITH VOGEL. COPAKEN RETURNS US APRIL 23. NEXT COPAKEN-VOGEL MEETING PROVISIONALLY SET FOR MAY 5 IN VIENNA WITH ME PRESENT (SVINGEL WILL BE ON VACATION).

3. BEFORE I JOINED MEETING, COPAKEN HAD PRESENTED SCOWCROFT LETTER TO MRS. SHADRIN TO VOGEL, STRESSING HIGHEST-LEVEL US INTEREST IN CASE. VOGEL GAVE COPAKEN STATEMENT (NO ADDRESSEE, NO SIGNATURE) DATED APRIL 18, 4 PM IN GERMAN. MY TRANSLATION FOLLOWS: BEGIN TEXT. THE SOVIET SIDE WISHES NO FURTHER DISCUSSION
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USBERL 00820 01 OF 02 231417Z

AND WARNS OF POSSIBLE ATTEMPTS AT POLITICAL BLACKMAIL.

PARA. WHAT MINISTER KISSINGER WAS TOLD STILL REMAINS VALID, INCLUDING THE STATEMENT THAT THE SOVIET SIDE RESERVES THE RIGHT TO RETURN TO THE QUESTION OF ARTAMONOV'S RETURN TO THE SOVIET UNION. END TEXT. I GATHERED THAT MUCH OF THE DISCUSSION PRIOR TO MY JOINING THE MEETING HAD BEEN ON THIS STATEMENT.

4. I ENGAGED VOGEL DIRECTLY IN DISCUSSION AND RECAPITULATED THE MAIN ASPECTS. FROM TIME TO TIME EITHER SVINGEL OR I GAVE COPAKEN A SUMMARY TRANSLATION OF MY CONVERSATION. IN SHORT, NO NEW POINTS OF SIGNIFICANCE EMERGED. WHAT VOGEL TOLD ME CONFIRMED IN ALL ESSENTIALS WHAT COPAKEN HAD PREVIOUSLY REPORTED, NOTABLY THE HONECKER-BREZHNEV INVOLVEMENT, AND THE ALLUSION TO POSSIBLE RESISTANCE ON THE PART OF SOVIET MILITARY HARDLINERS TO NEGOTIATING THE SHADRIN CASE. VOGEL WAS EMPHATIC ON THE HONECKER-BREZHNEV POINT, LESS PRECISE ON THE SOVIET MILITARY'S ROLE. I ASKED IF HE WAS SURE SHADRIN WAS STILL ALIVE. HE SAID HE WAS. I TOLD VOGEL I WAS PUZZLED BY THE APPARENT CONTRADICTION BETWEEN SOVIET OFFICIAL, HIGH-LEVEL NEGATIVE STATEMENTS MADE TO US ON THE ONE HAND (NOW REINFORCED BY THE APRIL 18 STATEMENT), AND ON THE OTHER HIS SUGGESTIONS THAT THERE WAS HIGH-LEVEL SOVIET INTEREST IN NEGOTIATING THE CASE. I SAID HE HAD A REPUTATION OF BEING RESPONSIBLE AND SERIOUS. I ASSUMED HE REALIZED HIS REPUTATION WAS ON THE LINE. HE SAID HE WAS QUITE AWARE OF THIS, AND HE WOULD NOT BE INVOLVED IF HE DID NOT THINK THERE WERE POSSIBILITIES OF MOVING AHEAD DESPITE WHAT WE HAD HEARD OFFICIALLY FROM THE SOVIETS.

5. COPAKEN WAS EXTREMELY DISAPPOINTED WITH THE APRIL 18 STATEMENT. HE ASKED VOGEL IF HE WOULD BE WILLING AT LEAST TO GIVE HIM A SIGNED STATEMENT THAT SHADRIN WAS STILL ALIVE. VOGEL SAID HE WAS NOT AUTHORIZED TO DO SO. HE ALSO REJECTED THE IDEA OF CONVEYING THE SERIES OF SPECIAL QUESTIONS COPAKEN HAD PREPARED WITH MRS. SHADRIN'S HELP, THE ANSWERS TO WHICH ONLY SHADRIN COULD SUPPLY, ON THE GROUNDS CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USBERL 00820 01 OF 02 231417Z

THAT IT WAS TOO EARLY TO TAKE THIS STEP, AND IN ANY CASE IT COULD COMPLICATE AND SLOW DOWN MATTERS. HE REMARKED THAT INTELLIGENCE PEOPLE COULD PLAY AROUND FOR MONTHS WITH QUESTIONS LIKE THAT. AN EVENTUAL LETTER FROM SHADRIN TO HIS WIFE WOULD BE A BETTER METHOD. VOGEL COMMENTED THAT HE FELT SURE THE APRIL 18 STATEMENT DID NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE HIGH-LEVEL REPRESENTATIONS MADE TO THE RUSSIANS IN WASHINGTON LATE LAST WEEK OR

THE SCOWCROFT LETTER. HE MADE A COMMITMENT TO
COPAKEN THAT HE WOULD HAVE A LETTER TO GIVE HIM BY
MAY 5, THE DATE SET PROVISIONALLY FOR THE NEXT MEETING,
IN VIENNA. HE MADE NO COMMITMENT AS TO CONTENTS,
HOWEVER, AND SAID IT WAS POSSIBLE THE LETTER COULD BE
AS NEGATIVE AS THE STATEMENTS WE HAVE BEEN GETTING FROM
THE RUSSIANS. HE ADDED THAT, EVEN IN SUCH A CASE, THIS
DID NOT NECESSARILY MEAN THE END OF THE MATTER.

6. COMMENT: THE LAST POINT IN PARA 5 ABOVE IS THE
REAL ENIGMA TO ME. VOGEL IS NO FOOL. HE IS AWARE
OF WHAT THE RUSSIANS HAVE TOLD US. HE KNOWS BETTER
THAN MOST THE SENSITIVITY FOR EAST GERMANS, AND HIM
PERSONALLY, OF SEEMING TO TANGLE WITH THE RUSSIANS.
YET HE PERSISTS IN SAYING THAT PERHAPS SOMETHING CAN
BE DONE, EVEN IF HIS MAY 5 LETTER TO COPAKEN HAS A
NEGATIVE CAST.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USBERL 00820 02 OF 02 231419Z

45

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

----- 074166

O R 231333Z APR 76

FM USMISSION USBERLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2341

INFO AMEMBASSY VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USBERLIN 0820

VIENNA FOR AMBASSADOR AND MEEHAN ONLY

EXDIS

7. I QUESTIONED SVINGEL SEPARATELY AS TO VOGEL'S
VERSION OF EAST GERMAN, AND SPECIFICALLY HONECKER,
MOTIVATION IN GETTING INTO THE SHADRIN CASE. SVINGEL
SAYS VOGEL TOLD HIM HONECKER SAW THE CASE AS A
POTENTIAL THREAT TO SOVIET-US RELATIONS AND DETENTE
GENERALLY, IN WHICH HONECKER HAS A VITAL INTEREST, AND
FELT HE MUST FLAG THIS FOR BREZHNEV PERSONALLY.
THIS SOUNDS ABSURD. HONECKER AS THE ANGEL OF DETENTE

HAS A WEIRD RING TO IT. MORE LIKELY IS THE POSSIBILITY THAT VOGEL, WHO IS A FIRST-CLASS RUG MERCHANT, SAW POSSIBILITIES OF USING HIGH-LEVEL US INTEREST IN SHADRIN AS LEVERAGE IN CASES OF INTEREST TO THE EAST GERMANS. GUILLAUME COMES TO MIND IMMEDIATELY-- BUT SVINGEL TOLD COPAKEN YESTERDAY THAT A MILITARY ESPIONAGE AGENT ARRESTED IN WEST GERMANY IN MARCH IS OF MORE INTEREST TO THE EAST THAN IS GUILLAUME..

8. IN MY CONVERSATION WITH HIM, VOGEL RETURNED FREQUENTLY TO THE THEMES THAT THE TWO SIDES WERE SO FAR FEELING OUT THE GROUND, TESTING EACH OTHER, AND THAT PERHAPS IT WOULD TAKE CONSIDERABLE TIME TO MOVE THINGS FORWARD. THE OFFICIAL, HIGH-LEVEL NEGATIVE SOVIET STATEMENTS WERE UNDOUBTEDLY A COMPLICATING FACTOR. BUT, HE ADDED, WHO WOULD HAVE THOUGHT AFTER THE EISENHOWER-KHRUSHCHEV MEETING IN PARIS IN 1960 THAT CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USBERL 00820 02 OF 02 231419Z

BEFORE TOO LONG THEREAFTER WE WOULD HAVE MOVED INTO A NEGOTISTING PHASE LEADING TO THE POWERS-ABEL EXCHANGE?

9. THE BOTTOM LINE FOR ME IS THAT IN LIGHT OF WHAT THE SOVIETS HAVE TOLD US OFFICIALLY, PLUS THE APRIL 18 STATEMENT, PLUS THE IMPLAUSIBILITIES RE THE ALLEGED HONECKER MOTIVATION AND RE THE LIKELIHOOD THAT THE RUSSIANS WOULD WANT TO INVOLVE OUTSIDERS IN ANY INTERNAL POLITICAL MANEUVERING THAT MIGHT BE GOING ON (THE RESISTANCE OF THE MILITARY, ETC.), THE ONLY PRUDENT CONCLUSION IS EXTREME BEARISHNESS THAT ANYTHING POSITIVE IS GOING TO DEVELOP. HOWEVER--AND THIS IS THE ONE QUALIFICATION--IT WOULD HAVE BEEN EASY FOR VOGEL YESTERDAY TO KISS THE CASE GOODBYE. HE HAD, IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN THOUGHT, AMPLE REASONS TO DO SO. HE DID NOT. HE MAY BE GOING THROUGH A CHARADE TO STRING IT OUT, BUT I THINK THERE IS A CHANCE AT LEAST THERE IS MORE TO IT THAN THAT.

10. I GAVE MY VIEWS TO COPAKEN AND SAID WE WOULD HAVE TO WAIT AND SEE WHAT HAPPENS MAY 5. I SUSPECT HE FELT THIS WAS A FOREIGN SERVICE COUNSEL OF DESPAIR, AND HE IS ALREADY CONSIDERING MORE ACTIVIST APPROACHES IN THE EVENT MAY 5 DOES NOT HOLD OUT HOPES OF CERTAIN, EVEN IF NOT NECESSARILY SPEEDY RESOLUTION OF THE CASE. GEORGE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 APR 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ShawDG
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976USBERL00820
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X3
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760154-0657
From: USBERLIN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760427/aaaaawlk.tel
Line Count: 218
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 76 STATE 96626
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ShawDG
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 30 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <30 MAR 2004 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <27 JUL 2004 by ShawDG>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SHADRIN CASE
TAGS: CASC, UR, US, (SHADRIN, NICHOLAS GEORGE)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006